188 cont.1 They are as good and as bad
771 Catholics as the Aymara, and the little church constructed in the
171 center of the village is the type which is prevalent on the high plateau. The pagan practices to which they are given seem to be the same as those of the Aymara.

776 The Pačamama, or "Earth-mother," is their principal
[171] divinity, as everywhere else on the high plateau. They also spoke to me about mal'ku and samiri although I was not able to obtain anything specific or any details about the cult rendered them. I noticed on the wall near the entry of all the huts a spot
[172] of blood, a reminder of the sacrifice which had been made to the local spirit at the moment when the house was covered with its roof. A pile of potatoes which had just been grubbed up was
[173] surmounted with a straw cross, a bottle of alcohol, and some coca leaves; these were, no doubt, offerings made to the Pačamama.

782 An old Indian man dictated to me several of the prayers
539 addressed to this divinity on different occasions. She is spoken of as mal'ku, i.e., "chief," as in Chipaya. Here are the prayers:

Samtña Mal'kwa	pičnaČa	Čal'tama.
Holy Divinity	come	let us offer up libation.

Tiča	ti koka	samtña	tača.
Here is	this coca	Holy One	I will give.

K'ičkina	koka	tabi.
Potato	coca	I give.

Xuaia (ρ)	tača	Samtña	Mal'ku.
Llama	I will give	Holy	Divinity.

773 Mythology. I was able to gather fragments of an old
[171] myth at Ancoaqui, of which I possess a more complete version which was narrated by the Čipaya. "In former times there was

●[92]

(For additional, scattered information about acts of propitiation performed in the course of rituals or extended religious ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 81-138.)

Carangas-
Chipaya

/110 cont./

No one yet knows to what extent environment can influence the religious conceptions of a human group, but if environment does indeed exercise the action on imagination which formerly was credited to it there can be no doubt that Cipaya mythology would have to abound in harsh and cruel elements. Life in the Carangas deserts is hard. The Indians are the first to acknowledge this, and they speak of their territory only with a dull bitterness: "there have plains where we live," such is the expression which most frequently recurs. Few regions have given me such an impression of emptiness as Chipaya. The mountains on the horizon rise on the plains as if emerging from the sea. The color of this territory is a uniform green verging on the grey cut by the dunes in a pale stroke.

This landscape would be most desperately monotonous without the escape afforded by the Kimsa chata, the three snowy summits which are glimpsed to the north. The Sajama, one of the most beautiful peaks of the Andes and which the Cipaya worship, is not visible from the village itself, Cerro Camacho hiding it from sight.

The small artificial lakes of Chipaya attract a considerable number of water birds of different species. The flamingos (parina) (Phoenicopterus andinus, Phil.) whose insipid meat is rightly disdained by the Indians and which abound in Chipaya bring the only lively note into the monotony of the landscape. Nothing is more impressive than a flock of these marvelous birds outlining themselves in red against the brilliant blue of the pure sky. The Indians use their feathers to decorate their hats at the time of the great festivals. The eggs of these flamingos must be associated with symbols of a religious or magical type for the Indians never fail to place one or two at the foot of the sacred sheaves which are one of the principal accessories of their pagan worships. I have even seen individuals who put on curious diadems made of flamingo eggs threaded together.

266furuse--22 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya
Inca SE13

/122 cont./

in all that was conquered, charging them greatly with the benefit which they would receive in notifying everyone in his land of what they had and could make use of for their necessities, which today they do by the same system and have persons designated who understand this, and thus it is necessary in all the towns to have them make a map, and, seeing the map of Cuzco, then they will do it...." On the zeque or ceque of Cuzco, see Ondegardo (Part 2), pp. 3-43.

succession of waka, temples, and /123/ sacred places which spread out from Cuzco into the distance toward the interior of the dominions in every direction. It is not astonishing to find in Chipaya an arrangement peculiar to the former capital of the empire in miniature. The Inca villages were faithful reproductions of the arrangement of the great centers, or, properly speaking, cities and villages were not fundamentally distinguishable from each other.

It is not by chance that all the huts in Chipaya are oriented toward the rising sun. Here also the Chipaya obey ancient religious traditions. This cardinal point exerts a real tyranny over the postures which the officiants and the crowd of faithful assume during the pagan-Christian ceremonies. The victims offered to the demons have their throats slit facing the east; it is also toward the east that the magician turns to make his prayers and offerings. The ancient tombs of the pre-Colombian populations on the altiplano, the chullpas, always have their door on the eastern side, a fact which had been noted already in the sixteenth century by Cieza de León. The modern Indians explain this concern with orientation by a myth which is unfortunately too garbled to allow reconstruction of its primitive version. Aside from one chapel

/326 cont./

[177] them most totally ignorant of the outward forms of Catholicism.
177 But rarely in the prayers addressed to the old Andean divinities or
[177] demons is no mention made of the Virgin and the saints. Some-
[176] times even the latter alone are invoked in the course of ceremonies which have nothing Christian about them.

796 There would be little required for certain festivals, such as
177 those of San Jerónimo and Candlemas, to receive the approbation of the most scrupulous esslesiastic on the subject of rites. The procession which they organize during this festival is a simple parody of those they make under the direction of their curé.

In church they pray before the altars, burn church candles in honor of the saints, and ring the bells each day at the prescribed
[194] hours. A special official, the mayordomo, is responsible for the upkeep of the church and the manufacture of the candles, and must in addition ring the bells.

Several festivals are celebrated under the patronage of a saint and coincide with those of the Catholic calendar.

To this Catholic influence another of a secular character
[576] must be joined. The ceremonious salutations which form one of the obligatory interludes of every festival are clearly reminiscent of the old Castilian embrace. The wishes of suma-hora, "in good time," which are pronounced at the same time constitute a certain sign of the Spanish origin of several rules of Čipaya courtesy. The
796 president and organizer of the festival bears the name of alferez,
554 "banner-carrier," and his dignity is symbolized by a standard
177 (wandera). The title and insignia are Spanish, but this office in several of its aspects clearly seems to be in the Indian tradition.

177 Short of admitting that formerly the Čipaya were in close contact with a village of Bolivian half-breeds, which is perhaps not to be ruled out, everything seems to indicate that these foreign influences came to them through the Aymara. When I make a study
[192] of the Čipaya vocabulary, I shall have constant opportunity to indicate this impregnation of Aymara in the Čipaya language and

/327 cont./

[171 174] consider the Uro of the desert of Carangas as the last representatives of the old civilization of the Bolivian puna as it was up to the seventeenth century. To judge from their modern ethnography, nothing other than language must have formerly distinguished an Aymara Indian from a Čipaya. If the "superstitions" of the Aymara and the Čipaya are the same, they have been preserved in a purer and more complete form among the latter.

[176 178] Divinities and sacred objects. The principal divinities which the Čipaya worship are various saints (San Felipe, San Jerónimo, Santiago, Santa Ana, the patroness of the village, the Earth-mother (Pača-mama) likened to the Virgin, some weakly individualized demons (Čunkirini-mal'ku, Estewan-mal'ku, Kemperani-mal'ku, etc.), the mountains on their horizon, the Samaja in particular, the Lauca River, and their church tower (Turi-mal'ku).

[178 825] The houses are protected by a spirit, the patio mal'ku, and by stuffed animals (wildcat, hawk) which are the object of a strictly household worship.

[182] /328/ The saints and the Pača-mama. As will be seen in the description of religious ceremonies, saints are put on the same level as gods or demons and receive libations and blood sacrifices. They have not been substituted for old pagan divinities, as has been the case in other regions of the altiplano, but have been simply added as supernumaries to the list of demons and protecting spirits of the Čipaya.

[177] The Pača-mama (the Earth-mother), without doubt the principal one of the pagan divinities of the Čipaya, is constantly confused with the Virgin, and the Indians declare both that the Virgin is the Earth-mother and that the Earth-mother is the Virgin. They do not know her by the name of Maria but always by that of Virxina, which they make follow the word for earth (taika).

[183] Offerings of coca, alcohol, and llama fetus are made to the Pača-mama, and the earth is kissed as a sign of respect toward her. I did not attend any ceremony which could be considered as worship

/328 cont./

addressed soely to her person. The homage rendered her is associated with the festivals celebrated in honor of demons, sacred stones (samiri), and San Jerónimo.

It is for the Pača-mama that candies are put in the hollow at the foot of the effigy of the demon "to sweeten her," and for her also plants thrust into a lump of tallow are buried and animals molded in tallow offered, no doubt, to the demons.

The mal'ku. The Aymara word mal'ku, which in Bertonio's dictionary (1) is translated "chief," "señor de Vassallos /lord of vassals/," has a more extended meaning today and expresses a notion of a religious order. In the Aymara texts which constitute the oral ritual of the Čipaya, the qualifier or title of mal'ku is bestowed upon the Earth-mother, the Lauca River, certain mountain peaks, and the church tower. This same word is joined to diverse proper names borne by some curious monuments that the Čipaya hold in great veneration. These are cones of earth from 1.20 to 1.70 meters high, nine of which stand around the village within a radius of five to 15 kilometers. They are constructed like the Čipaya houses of champas, i.e. clods cut out of the sod and placed in such a way as to form a compact mass which is covered with a whitish coating (Pl. XI, A /see p. 132/). All these monuments have a small cellar at their base carefully closed with a plug of earth; the Indians bury the offerings they make to the demon of the place there. On one of the cones a niche oriented toward the east replaced /329/ the cellar. These monuments are sometimes supported by an oval platform about one meter high. Beside the cone, which occupies the central part of the platform,

1. Bertonio (F. Ludovico). Vocabulario de la lengua aymará /Vocabulary of The Aymara Language/ (Reissued by J. Platzmann). Second part. Leipzig, 1879. p. 220.

/329 cont./

there is generally a small oratory or altar with a niche, where the Indians place coca leaves, incense, and various offerings. I noticed an artificial mound a certain distance from these sanctuaries, where the sacrificed animals are prepared for the feast which closes every Čipaya festival. A few clumps of earth piled a short distance from the platform serves as a censer, and during the entire duration of the ceremony the Indians burn khoa there, a resinous plant which gives off a strong and rather agreeable odor.

In the mind of the Čipaya these cones of earth are "statues" representing divine personages, demons. It was thus that they were designated to me when I heard about them for the first time. "These are," the interpreter translated, "bultos a manera de hombres /busts in the form of men/." In fact, each of these cones has a name (Čunkirini, KorisanČuri, Kemperani, Kant, Kilimint, Kusil'er, Kusil'awari, Estewan, Waxma, etc.), and if the majority of these names are Čipaya or Aymara, the most revered cone of the saya tuanta is called Estewan, or Stephen (1). When I asked the

1. I am tempted to see in the Kiliment (o) mal'ku a demon whose Spanish name, Clemente, has been indianized.

recognized officiant of the saya tuanta about the nature and attributes of the divine beings materialized in these cones of earth, he replied to me that they were spirits who crossed the puna disguised as white men dressed in a tunic (ira) of the same color, and with a large hat on their heads. If one accosts them they disappear.

Each saya has its own mal'ku near which it acquits itself, i.e., makes an annual sacrifice to them in turn. Only one exists, (the Kemperani mal'ku) constructed at the boundary of the sayas, which is worshiped by the whole tribe.

These constructions correspond in every respect to the famous waka (huaca) which the Spanish inquisitors had so much trouble

/331 cont./

Further on (p. 115) the description of a sacrifice made by a Čipaya Indian in honor of a titi-mal'ku, i.e. the wildcat protector of his house will be given. In a hut which served as a storage place in Chipaya, I saw a stuffed hawk, mamani, which was likewise pointed out to me as the mal'ku of the family which owned the hut.

Certain characters in Aymara folklore also bear the epithet mal'ku. Thus the Wasa mal'ku, mysterious protector of wild animals. These examples allow us at present to form a fairly clear idea of the evolution undergone by the word mal'ku and of its present meaning. In the beginning this term denoted pre-eminence, whether it was purely secular and due to social rank or derived from the sacred nature of the object or person thus qualified. The substitution of approximate Spanish equivalents for the ancient native names designating the different degrees of authority has caused the use of the word mal'ku in the sense of chief to disappear. It is only preserved in the language to denote excellence, that which is worthy of respect, and consequently the supernatural and sacred. This evolution has been carried through to its most extreme limit, and today mal'ku can be translated in certain instances by "demon." In some Čipaya prayers the magician calls indiscriminately upon "all the mal'ku"; he invites the "mal'ku" to come eat the pieces of meat which are tossed to them in the air.

/332/ The bibliographical research which I have undertaken has brought me only rare examples of the word mal'ku being attributed to supernatural beings or being invested with the meaning "sacred." The present natives of the Huarochirí region (1) worship

1. Tello (Julio C.) and Miranda (Prospero). "Wallallao. Ceremonias Gentílicas realizadas en la Región Cisandina del Perú Central /Wallallao. Pagan Ceremonies carried out in the Cisandean Region of Central Peru/." Inca. Lima. Vol. I. No. 2. 1923. pp. 475-549. 510. 532. 545.

Carangas-
Chipaya
Modern Quechua SE24
Inca SE13

/334 cont./

The word apu, which formerly signified "chief" and which consequently is synonymous with mal'ku and auki, is today used to designate demons or spirits.

The cones of earth, which are mal'ku par excellence, play a foremost role in the religious life of the Čipaya. The majority of the solemn festivals of these Indians are in their honor. When in a sacrifice the magician offers the victim's blood to the mal'ku, he never fails to sprinkle the four cardinal points with it while uttering the name of the mal'ku who live in each quarter of space.

The samiri. The worship of the samiri constitutes the most interesting aspect /335/ of the pagan religion of the Čipaya. The samiri are flat stones of calcareous origin with no set shape. Those of the saya tuanta are kept in a small cellar about 40 cm. deep and 60 cm. long, situated about ten kilometers from the village, in the area where the wretched pastures give way to the sands of the puna. The pit is housed on a knoll and carefully hidden under a yareta.

The samiri are supposed to protect the livestock, and in the prayers addressed to them a distinction is drawn between the samiri of the llamas, those of the pigs, and those of the sheep, and it is from them that the increase of these animals is awaited. The Čipaya also call samiri a stuffed lamb which they bury within the fold to watch over the flock. The word samiri is thus equivalent to konopa, a generic term which was used to designate the fetishes or amulets upon which the ancient Peruvians depended for the prosperity of their herds, their fields, or their houses (1).

1. On the konopa, the compilation of Jijón y Caamaño, La religión del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 99-103, and Latcham, Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Peruanos, pp. 55-62, may be consulted.

/338 cont./

*7078 7076 823 [782] The mountains (1). In their prayers the Čipaya invoke the

1. On the worship of mountains in the ancient Peruvian empire, consult Jijón y Caamaño, La religion del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 328-342.

mountains on their horizon in general and certain summits, such [133] as the Sajama, in particular. The latter is the most sacred of all, for from it comes the Lauca River which fertilizes the wretched Chipaya plain. The Indians relate that there lived in Sajama a spirit (male or female) who made the contents of a pot boil so that steam was seen escaping. Sajama is now an extinct volcano.

[782] The Lauca River. Like the mountains the Lauca River is a divinity who demands offerings and blood sacrifices. As the Pačamama has been associated with the Virgin, so the Lauca River has been confused with María, who for the Čipaya, it seems, is a personage distinct from the Virgin; this is why the Lauca River is called Santa María Lauca. Its name is followed in a prayer with the double epithet of mal'ku and tal'a. These qualificatives would oblige us to assume that this river is symbolized by a pair of demons or considered in itself as being both male and female. I have not been able to obtain any clarification on this point, all the less so as the Čipaya have very rudimentary if any knowledge of mythology. These contradictory attributes given to the Lauca River perhaps are only an empty form without importance.

[796] [782] The Čipaya assured me that they hold a festival each year for the Lauca River. On this occasion one specimen of the three kinds of animals who live in Chipaya is sacrificed to it.

*7078 The sacred sticks. These are not lacking in any Čipaya hut, where they are set against the wall facing the door. The Indians worship them /339/ at home, as they told me, and I actually saw them placing censers at the foot. These sticks, one of which is reproduced here (Pl. XVI, D /see p. 137/), are made of palm-tree

/339 cont./

*708 wood and come from the forests of eastern Bolivia. The Indians call them by the half-Aymara, half-Spanish word kamana-para, [191] "house stick." I never saw one in the Aymara huts where I stayed.

Sanctuaries, chapels, and oratories. The Čipaya celebrate their festivals at the foot of the sacred cones of earth, or mal'ku, near the samiris' cellar or in the chapels and the village church. I have already mentioned above the location of the mal'ku in relation to the village, and I have given a complete description of *708 them. Hence note must be taken here only of the edifices of a 346 mixed character, i.e., those which are used simultaneously for observances of Christian and pagan worship.

The church falls into this last category. Its belfry is a divinity common to the entire tribe, as the church is situated in the middle of the neutral ground which separates the two saya. Its interior is miserable and does not differ at all from the rural churches in the rest of Bolivia, unless in its poverty. On the altar are a few images [782] made of pasteboard, which receive blood sacrifices, offerings of [776] coca, and libations of alcohol and chicha. Exactly as in other Bolivian churches, one finds in this one an unusual number of boxes containing the image of Saint James on his horse, a saint whom the Indians hold in particular veneration and to whom they have given all the attributes and functions of the ancient god of thunder. One sees there also innumerable small terra-cotta bowls, full of tallow in which a wick of wool burns; these little lamps take the place of candles and are given by the faithful.

[614] Each clan has in addition its chapel, built on the same plan as the church but smaller. The interior decoration is almost the same but even more wretched. In front of the chapel a small enclosure is used for gatherings of the faithful when they assemble to drink or feast together in homage to some Christian or pagan divinity. From the Tuanta chapel a line of chapels and little square edifices, which for want of a better word I shall call oratories or altars, extends in a straight line toward the east, or more precisely toward the southeast. These are small cubes of earth topped with a niche

Caranga-
Chipaya

/344 cont./ Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and
622 dancers, stopping in front of each hut to obtain a tribute of alcohol
535 for himself and his troup. In exchange for this gift he gave his
[931] momentary host the privilege of seizing the white banner and
putting himself at the head of the dancers. The end of the day was
[913] only a succession of rounds and drinking which went on until com-
plete exhaustion.

622 The second day. On the next day, noticing that all the Indians were going toward a particular hut, I in turn went. There I found about 30 individuals, men and women, squatting on the floor around the alcalde taking office, who was seated on a pile of cloth behind a table facing the door. He was holding his stick of authority in his arm and had bunches of flowers and a napkin full of coca in front of him. His physiognomy did not act in his favor; his ravaged, closed face was scarred with smallpox; his thick features, aquiline nose, and projecting chin gave him an air which was both cruel and bestial. I sat down next to the men immediately to the right of the host. All were keeping a profound, almost disturbing silence. At long intervals a man would rise to prefer his
[914] bag of coca to the alcalde. The latter would take a few leaves from it and tender his own chuspa with a bored gesture. Others moved toward the table, took a pinch of coca leaves, some of which they left in front of the flowers, and swallowed the rest.
[912] The drinkers never forgot their libations directed, as were the
[913] offerings, toward the flowers on the table. On that day the chicha of maize and quinua, in exception to the rule, competed with the alcohol. It was served by the women in terra-cotta bowls. I had the opportunity to be present that afternoon at a scene, the significance of which remains a mystery to me. A man got up and greeted a young woman in the usual manner; /345/ she replied to his greeting and went to kneel at the head of the audience. The individual who had greeted her took the young woman's head and shoved it against that of a man squatting next to her. Several
[158] seconds later the young woman gave way to weeping identical to that with which the church had resounded the day before. Silence

Caranga-
Chipaya

/345 cont./

re-established itself little by little, and during the entire day the Indians remained in their hut, as apathetic as I had found them in the morning.

The festival of San Geronimo (January 7).

Very early in the morning an Indian ran through the saya tuanta, beating on a drum and stopping before each hut to wake the inhabitants and call them to the festival which was about to begin. Not knowing the significance of this household-rousing, I attributed little importance to it and thus missed the initial ceremonies. I could ascertain, however, that two piglets had been sacrificed on the threshold of the chapel of the saya: the cross which stands in front of the door, the outside walls, and the altar had been splattered with fresh blood. Inside two tables had been set up on which coca leaves had been spread out. Some Indians squatted in the chapel chewing coca leaves and drinking alcohol, preceding each mouthful with a prayer and libation. Espíritu Mamani subsequently recited the text of the prayer to me, uttered, no doubt, at the moment when the blood of the pigs is sprinkled:

Araspa^{x}a	aubi,	suma	tiempo	apanita'a.	waim
Sky	lord.	good	weather	send me.	good

mara.	suma	mara.	araspa^{x}-patuna.		todos
weather.	good	weather.	sky	master.	all

wawatahi.	Lo mismo	Virgin-taiha	sumapeoyowasiota,	
children for.	Likewise	Virgin-earth	thou feedest me.	

kaiokanta	(tahi)	wawanahatahi.	todos	mundos.
thou wilt receive	(all?)	children of.	all	the world.

wawanahatahi	uk^{x}ara	todos	mundos	pak^{x}aio	aka
children of	then	all	the world	animals	these

/353 cont./

Some, kneeling before the latter, passed a censer in which copal or khoa were burning under their noses.

Without waiting for the assembly to grow larger, the Officiant and his helpers proceeded to slaughter the llama, the pig, and then the ewe (Pl. XI, B, D /see p. 132/). The sacrifice done with a knife of poor quality was a painful sight. At the moment when the blood splashed from the severed arteries, the Officiant took from two bags a pinch of white maize flour (k^{x}uli l'umpaka) and black (nax k^{x}uli l'umpaka), which he sprinkled on the spurt of blood. Then catching the blood in a bowl in the bottom of which he had mixed a bit of the two kinds of flour, he walked around the animal sprinkling the ground at the four cardinal points. A certain amount of blood was poured on the samiri.

The rites were repeated identically for each of the victims. /354/ When the Officiant had ended his sprinkling, the sacrificed animals were drawn aside to be skinned and prepared immediately.

Only at this moment did the spectators, who up to now had remained bareheaded, their eyes fixed on the ground, put their hats back on and come out of their meditation.

Shortly afterward the Officiant, armed with an old bayonet, walked around the knoll, making holes in which he put a little copal and a small plant stuck in a pellet of fat the size of an egg. He accompanied each of his offerings with short invocations to the Pa^{x}a-mama, the text of which he recited to me later.

Werxina	unto-k^{x}al'a	Werxina	tima	am	amura	lo mismo
Virgin	fat pellet	Virgin	that	thee	love	likewise

mirwal'a	am	amura	tunčis	am	amuraja.
grain	thee	love	today	thee	it is thy love.

"Virgin, (take) this pellet of fat which thou lovest, likewise the grain which thou lovest, today (thou receivest?) [illegible] which thou lovest."

/369 cont./

*796 437 amounts of quinua, cañave, chuño, and sugar with potsherds, many of which were perforated and tied together with a string (Pl. XVI, F /see p. 137/). A scale of values seems to exist, so many potsherds giving the right to acquire a certain quantity of a [531] given product. Small clay llamas may also be bought; they have a magical action on the prosperity of the flocks.

*798 *796 The Festival of the Estewan, Kemperani, and Cunkirini mal'ku (February 8, 12, and 14).

To give an account in detail of the ceremonies performed in honor of the mal'ku would be equivalent to repeating the description of the festival of the samiri. The ritual practices observed, their order, and the attitude of the spectators are exactly the same as those which I have described in detail above. The only difference is that instead of being directed to the samiri, libations and sacrifices are intended for the sacred cones of earth. However, I was able to note several variants which I think are worth mentioning.

The festival of the Estewan-mal'ku (Pl. XIII, B-D /see p. 134/) had some preliminaries which were absent from the worship of the other mal'ku. The alferez of this festival had a sheep killed the day before in the court in front of the church. Two hours [532] later a superb white ram was slaughtered at his command before the wall of his hut. He had summoned Anacleto Mullu for this sacrifice.

In Conformance with the ritual a sacred stick was planted to the east in front of the sheep, whose streaming blood was mixed with flour in a bowl, poured out at the four cardinal points, offered to the demons, and finally sprinkled on the inner wall of the alferez' hut. These sprinklings finished with a libation of alcohol of which the demons were again the beneficiaries.

[533] The Officiant was then invited to help with the preparations for the festival, and he spent a good part of the evening making little bags of offerings and shaping from fat into which black and white meal had been kneaded, a llama, a sheep, and a pig, to which is called Silver Ox and Parrot Pinkuchi.

Caranga: - Chipaya

/377/

"Demon Kosil'awari, wife of the demon, in this moment I have come to acquit myself with these three animals, on this day, the day of thy anniversary. I have come with the whole assembly to acquit ourselves on behalf of our herds and (our) health."

In conclusion I shall reproduce the prayer which is addressed to Mount Sajama and to the Lauca River when a specimen of each of the three kinds of animals which comprise the herds of the Čipaya is sacrificed to the latter:

Saxama-mal'ku	awisturu	awitiłal'a	Maria	L'auka	ti
Sacred Sajama	shepherd	make feed	Mary	Lauca	these

čep	pakal'a	awitiłka	parwal'a	para	simpre
three	heads of livestock	make feed	grass	for	always

awitiłka.
made feed.

"Sacred Sajama (thou) the shepherd, make us able to feed, Mary Lauca, (grant us) to feed these three kinds of animals, (give us grass) to feed them."

Religious Practices at Sheep-shearing Time.

In the beginning of February the Indians of the uyu tanata went away to shear their sheep. They came back from their "water houses" with huge packs of llama and sheep wool which they piled up in their huts. This return was the occasion for a festival which chiefly consisted of offering libations of alcohol over the piles of wool and of offering coca and alcohol to the small earthen llamas (Pl. XVII, B /see p. 138/) lined up inside the hut on a table. A few llamas had been led to the village, and the Indians came from time to time to drop some coca leaves and drops of alcohol on their backs, while imploring the demons and saints to increase these animals, to protect them, and to make the grass on which they feed grow.

/377 cont./

Heated by the alcohol, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Čipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /378/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, whose steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

Carnival Festival.

Carnival for the Čipaya Indian is the festival par excellence beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival /Figure 36 appears here/ /378/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other ayu are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only known of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its vividness and unconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which had been so much awaited was alone powerful enough to keep me in Chipaya behind the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Čipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, and the no less precious coca. The crisis which elsewhere was turning up Latin American presidents was depriving the Čipaya of their outlets for the export of their classes and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[Text Continues on P. 110]

Arguedas--112 E-5 (1950-1951) 1955.1958 5934 Uru 5934

Carnaval-
Chipaya

/380 cont./ They started, I believe, had a few quarrels and exchanges of blows, and I did not see any of the public copulations to which Carnival festivals often give rise among the Aymara.

The following Sunday, the last day of the Carnival festivities, was particularly lively. All the clans had joined together and were dancing in a compact mass. The church tower had been decorated with garlands of /381/ fruit, cheeses, and bread, and a sheep immolated in its honor. The four corners and the bells had been sprinkled with its blood.

The prayer to the Tower, a demon which, like the Cantoni-mal'ku, is common to the two ayu, was recited in the course of this sacrifice:

Turi-mal'ku.	Yawa	mal'ku.	Santa Ana.	mal'ku	tuuna.
Tower-demon.	great	demon.	Saint Anne.	demon	our.
tuuniinga.	maniñi.	cakiñi	kaski		
west of	he who obtains.	who prays.	in this manner.		
suma.	wsina.	tiempo	'tnaniñima'a.	wala.	wala.
good	young	weather	hearken to us.	good.	good.
suma	wata	'tnaniña	tapa	awsiñita.	
good	year	grant us	all	servants us.	

"Demon of the tower, great divinity, Saint Anne, demon of the Tuuna and Tuuna aya, our intercessor, thou who prayest, make us at this time have propitious and good weather, grant us a good, very good year to all of us, thy servants."

The spectators lined up in two rows face to face and exchanged their bags of corn and their last drinking cups of alcohol. Some of them, the most important, had separated themselves from the assembly and offered up their libations to the demons and the guardian,ayllus, kneeling before their sacred stone. A colleague stood in front of them to say the responses.

Smithson--119 G-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas -
Chipaya

/761 cont./

At sunset tayata, tuyuta, and wayta, the three clans, fused together for the last time in a gigantic ring, led by all the musicians together. They kept revolving for a long time and dispersed at night in order to finish the last remnants of alcohol.

This festival is the last which they celebrate before Easter and the visit of their cacil in June.

Rites and practices observed during the building of a hut.

House-building with the Chipaya as with the Aymara is a collective undertaking. The future owner is helped in his work by the people of his family and by all his friends. At the moment when the roof is covered with "inwinido," i.e., with the strange fabric made of straw and thin layers of clay which makes it impermeable, the master of the house has all who have helped him come. The latter sit down /761/ in a circle and receive alcohol from their host and coca from his wife. They rest a few moments, drinking and chewing, and offering up libations accompanied by short prayers in which they ask the demons and the Earth-mother to watch over the new hut and its inhabitants. Before resuming work, they attach to the wall facing the entrance the sacred sticks (kamana-yara) to which an offering of alcohol has been made.

When the roofing is finished a sheep is slaughtered, and the master of the house sprinkles the wall near the door and the curves of the arches which support the ceiling with its blood. Afterward he organizes a large feast to prove his gratitude to the voluntary workers.

Protecting demons of the huts.

Each hut is under the protection of a mal'ku, i.e., of a demon or a spirit often mentioned in prayers by the name of patio mal'ku, either "spirit of the court" or, more exactly, of the space between the two small walls which enclose the group of huts belonging to each family. The guardian of the house may also be a wildcat (titi-mal'ku) or a bird of prey, a kite, or a stuffed falcon (manaya). Some huts among the Aymara of Carangas Province have a plant, generally a cactus, as a mal'ku.

Carangas-
Cipaya

/382 cont./

The number of spirits which rule over a household may be even more considerable. In a prayer of Aymara origin which I recorded among the Cipaya, in the course of a sacrifice made to the demons of the house, the shed and the kitchen are invoked at the same time as the court.

Building a house gives rise to various ceremonies which occur uniformly throughout the territory inhabited by the Aymara. There is no Cipaya hut on which one does not see to the left of the door upon entering the blackish spot of blood with which it was sprinkled after its erection. The inside of the roof also bears traces of bloody sprays. This sacrifice is followed by a feast, the costs of which are borne by the owner of the new dwelling, and to which he invites all those who, relatives or friends, have aided him in the work of construction. The occasion is used to offer up many libations and to ask, probably of the protecting spirits, that "the straw (of the roof), that the house, that the hut for the kitchen be good, that it last for many years."

aKobʷaï's	kKoya	kamantaika	suma	haŝk	wata
Straw	house	kitchen for	good	many	year

awantiï'a (1) kKoya-ki.
endure house this.

1. From the Spanish aguantar, "to endure."

/383/ A beautiful example of the frightful jargon, a mixture of Cipaya, Aymara, and Kicua /Quechua/ words, which the Indians use in their conversations with the divinities.

The titi-maï'ku is honored each time that an Indian returns home to the village after a long stay in his "water house." As the number of titi-maï'ku in Chipaya is limited, I would not have

Carnegie - Chipaya

/583 cont./

been able to be present at this intimate ceremony if my neighbors in the saya tuanta had not just made a sacrifice to their stuffed cat upon their return after a prolonged absence. They began by choosing a splendid white sheep from their flock, which they decorated with red pompoms and stretched in front of the door of their hut, its head toward the east. Next to him they placed a small tablecloth which they covered with coca leaves. They let fall several drops of alcohol and several pinches of coca on this victim and uttered the following formula:

Mal'ku petio	titi-mal'ku	suma	kamsmal'a
Spirit (of the) petio	sacred cat	well	receive very much

vila.
blood.

The Indian's two huts were sprinkled inside and out with the blood of the slaughtered sheep, and the last gush which poured from his severed artery was thrown eastward with a prayer to the demons, to the Earth-mother, and to the saints.

The titi-mal'ku occupied the place of honor inside the hut. It was decorated with a festive cling wrapped around its body; red pompoms hung from its ears and a bag had been hung from its neck. I made a list of the contents of the latter: besides coca there was a small bottle of alcohol, various magical substances such as colored mineral powders, fetish money (il'a), a stone calcareous in nature, and lastly a dried pear and an orange peel.

A bowl full of blood was offered to the titi-mal'ku and near it was put a napkin covered with coca leaves which the neighbors came to renew. The owner and his wife sat near their titi-mal'ku to do homage to him with a small private ceremony in which they were the only ones to participate, but which soon attracted several interested visitors. With each libation, before drinking, they turned toward the wildcat so that he could eat

Cerengue-
Cápaya

/583 cont./

doubt the homage being paid him. Each offering was accompanied with this phrase:

Tsi-mañe	nenu	emiñe-ramañe	tuñe	eneño
Sacred cat	good	receive very much	now	cupcake

eño	emere-
bland	love.

/584/ "Sacred cat receive this in abundance, now at the same time as this bland which we offer thee with love."

At the moment when the drinking cup was emptied, it was proper to cry "aleluya" (hallelujah).

In each Cipaya hut without exception one notices several pairs of palm wood with a hole for hanging fastened to the wall facing the door. I did not find out the exact nature of these pieces of wood, nor the character which the Cipaya attributed to them. They give them the half-Aymara, half-Spanish name of kamana-pera (loose stick). During the great public festivals the magician goes toward the place of the ceremony armed with one of these sticks and plants it infront of himself before offering either a sacrifice or a libation. Sometimes the sheaves of sacred straw are attached around these sticks. One day I saw the Indians burn incense in front of their kamana-pera, and they assured me that before Carnival and the festival of the Conception they sacrifice a sheep to it. I do not know if it is on this occasion or when a sheep is killed for the demons of the pampa that the long prayer is recited which a Cipaya dictated to me when I questioned him on each family worship:

Tsipañe	(wawanañi)	ñañiñaña	bPuña	tuñe
All	child for	plant	corn	large

Smithsonian--117 8-6 (1930-1931) 1955, 1956 SFS4 Ure SFS4

Carnegie
Chipaya

/title cont./

paiñoĉ'a	kulumaya	paiñoĉ'a	kon	uuta	paiñoĉ'a
herd	pig	herd	with	sheep	herd

kaña	paiñoĉ'a	maiteyaya	kamaca	kenakeyaya
large	herd	let me have	house	they will receive

ajai	mañ'ka	mama	mañ'ka	pai-ullu	kimua
this	demon	mother	demon	patio place	there

paiñoĉ'a	ranimiyaya	kenakeyaya.
herds	birth	they will receive.

"Let me have, for us thy children, plains (?), large cacti, pigs with sheep and large livestock (llamas). let me have it, thou devil (where the mañ'ka stays), thou kitchen of the house. Then will receive as an offering the young of the three kinds of animals, thou spirit, thou mother spirit, thou court (demons of the court)."

One afternoon when I had gone to visit my friend Anacleto Mollo, I found him in the process of offering up libations in the company of his nephew and his wife. They had placed a censer in front of them and held out the two twin drinking cups to each other, part of the contents of which they poured out, reciting a prayer on the invitation of and under the direction of the yairi. Insofar as I could understand the meaning of their mournful pleas, they must have been addressed to the sacred sticks of the hut and to the pampering spirit /?ñi/ of the house, who were asked to make the grass of the fields grow and to make rain fall on the bare Chipaya plains.

Here are a few bits of the prayers they recited that day that I was able to snatch on the wings

[illegible]ranima	Ñ'ĉama	uyuiri	Anacleña
Virgin	I shall offer a libation	Censer mother	Sir

Carangas-
Chipaya

/785 cont./

karpa	marka	kol'u	uyuwiri	Virxina	Mamita
rain	country	mountains	foster mother	Virgin	Mama

Rosario.	paita	ʾenekina	benitnis	te	k'anasa	kanavita.
Rosary.	speak	us	bless		light	?

"Virgin, foster mother. I shall offer thee a libation. (give us) the rain of the sky and you also, mountains of the country, foster mother Virgin. Mama Rosary, speak to us, blessed be thou."

786. In another hut on the same day I noticed a censer that was smoking in front of the sacred sticks (kamana-para).

Each Thursday the Chipaya burned a little khoa at the end of the little wall which separates their group of houses from the others. [illegible] They have borrowed this custom from the Aymara who practice it even in cities such as Oruro.

787. The Samiri of the sheepfold.

In the company of Anacleto Mulin I was invited to attend the burying of a samiri in the sheepfold of one of the families of the warta clan.

The first care of the yatiri upon arriving at the places was to dig the earth to uncover a small cellar made of limestone slabs, 20 cm. deep and 20 cm. long, which was situated approximately in the middle of the sheepfold. The Officiant took out of it four five-centavo coins, dried flowers, and a little bottle of eau-de-vie. The flowers were thrown away but the coins and the bottle of alcohol carefully put to one side. Meanwhile a black sheep [illegible] decorated with tufts of wool on its ears and neck had been led into the enclosure. He was as usual consecrated with libations and offerings of coca and slaughtered on the edge of the hole. The yatiri, facing east, offered a little of this blood to the demons whom he invoked and implored in a long prayer; then turning toward the hut of the man who was offering the sacrifice, he poured out the rest of the blood in honor of the protecting spirit of his

/386 cont./

*798 *796 791 [822] vegetables, the knowledge and acquisition of which means the most to the Čipaya. The green represents the fields, the brown quinua seeds, the violet certain parts of quinua and cañave leaves.

With some mutton fat the yatiri modeled a lamb to whose neck he attached a tuft of wool. He put it in a bowl into which those present threw coca, and he offered libations to it and recited a long prayer where wishes for the prosperity of the flock were mingled with enumerations of the mal'ku and invocations to the Pačamama. Now taking pig fat the yatiri encrusted it with portions of gold leaf and stuck dried flowers in it. The choice of the flowers was as meticulous as that of the colored powders. When the slice of pig fat was covered with them, /387/ the wife of the master of the enclosure wrapped it with a tuft of red wool. The sheep made of fat, the flowers stuck in the pig fat, and the sacks of mineral powders were placed in a tin box and sprinkled with coca leaves. Among those present arose a real competition as to who would contribute the most coca leaves and recite his prayers with the most fervor. Then the bottle of eau-de-vie was uncorked, and all drank from it, beginning with the Officiant, without neglecting libations and the customary prayers before each bumper.

A few drops of alcohol were sprinkled on the offerings, to which the following things were added: llicta, candies, incense, khoa, copal, and sugar. The box was buried even with the ground and covered with a slab. The whole thing was carefully concealed under the ground, and the yatiri uttered a long prayer addressed, as previously, to the Pačamama and protecting demons on the site of the samiri. The ceremony ended, like all the Čipaya ceremonies, with mutual invitations to drink and chew.

231 782 Religious practices relating to putting domestic animals to death.

When the Čipaya slaughter an animal in order to eat the meat, they perform a ritual which is in every respect analogous to the one which I have so often described in connection with sacrifices. The sheep or the pig receives an offering of coca and

/387 cont./

231 alcohol, and its blood is offered to the demons. The animal's
782 head is placed on a table where it remains on display for several days. It is surrounded with bunches of flowers, and under the beast's snout a napkin covered with coca leaves and small dishes containing various substances, all invested with magical qualities, is placed. The residents of the hut, who have set up this altar, worship it in summary fashion, the principal manifestations of which are gestures of respect and offerings of coca and alcohol.

Divination.

780 784 814 Like the Aymara the Čipaya Indians practice divination on a large scale. I had one occasion to have the future predicted to me by the most highly reputed specialist of the tribe, Anacleto Mullu. The latter used only a napkin and a certain amount of coca provided by the client as accessories. He began with a short prayer murmured in a low voice, during which he carefully spread out his leaves, patting them with the palm of his hand. He brought his right hand to his mouth /388/ forming a horn and blew gently into it. Then, putting his hand gently back on the leaves, smoothing and caressing them, he repeated the question. After a short invocation he took hold of a handful of leaves which he turned with a quick movement. He separated the significant leaves from the pile to show them to me. From what I could ascertain, a leaf must be turned with its nervures on top, have the petiole behind, and the point of the limb toward the end of the fingers to be considered a good omen. The hand is always kept open, the fingers directed toward the consultant.

To be good the leaf also must not be covered by any other. The leaves which are clearly bad are those which are presented in an inverted position. The worst have their shiny side up and the petiole directed toward the consultant. The precision of the more or less categorical reply of the diviner depends on his general appraisal and on the proportion of good and bad leaves. Folded leaves are taken out and have no significance at all.

/390 cont./

755 756 Arriving at the house of the sick man, I found him with his head in a turban of rags, squatting in front of his wife. His relatives had gathered in the hut and surrounded the magician. I [789] noticed a cross carefully veiled with a handkerchief at the back of the hut and an iron spike near the door to keep the evil spirits aside. The magician had placed the offending items, the topu and the coin, on a small napkin and drawn from his bag mineral substances of very varied hues (sebarios), copal, incense, etc., as well as mugs and phials which he filled with water and in which he mixed the sebarios and a little sacred maize flour (l'umpaka).

While watching his actions the sick man and his relatives were praying and drinking and offering libations of alcohol. When [782] he had finished the magician cleared the hut and went toward a sheep tied in front of the door. He severed its carotid and caught its blood in a bowl which contained /391/ sacred maize flour and a small cupule. He then emptied it before the house to the east while invoking the guardian demons of the clan and the samiri. Next he sprinkled the wall of the hut with this sacred blood and, throwing himself on the still palpitating sheep, he opened the chest with a knife thrust and with a savage and nervous gesture tore out the heart, which he ran to place on the patient's abdomen which was covered with blankets. After this he took hold of the topu and coin and carefully washed them in the water with which sacred flour had been mixed. This liquid, like the blood, was poured out in front of the hut.

The libations (ɛ'al'a) which took place immediately after were directed as usual to the demons, the samiri's, and the saints. The magician took his cupules in pairs successively and ran to post himself in front of the threshold in order to throw the contents in the direction of the east, murmuring a hasty prayer each time. When he had ended these offerings, he squatted before his stone of magic ingredients and began to sort them attentively. He placed imperceptible quantities of blue, white, green, light green, red, violet, coffee, and grey mineral substances (sebarios) in

2:Métraux--132 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Plate XI

Carangas-Chipaya
982
291
[098]
[231]

A. — Indian kneeling before a mat'ku.

B. — Ritual slaughter of a sheep.

[098]
[231]

C. — Ritual consecration of a llama: libation of alcohol and offering of coca.

D. — Ritual slaughter of a llama.

2:Métraux--134 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SP24 Uru SP24

Caraga-
Calpaja

Plate XIII

A. — Festival of the sumiri: the alferez and alferezа behind the sacred sheaves.

B. — Festival of Estewan mal'ku: magician offering up a libation; in back, the Estewan mal'ku.

C. — Festival of Estewan mal'ku: magician with his assistant preparing the Cal'a (libation and offerings) destined for the demon whose effigy dripping with blood stands in the background.

D. — Festival of Estewan mal'ku: the kneeling magician receives mugs from the hands of his assistant, the contents of which he offers to the demons.

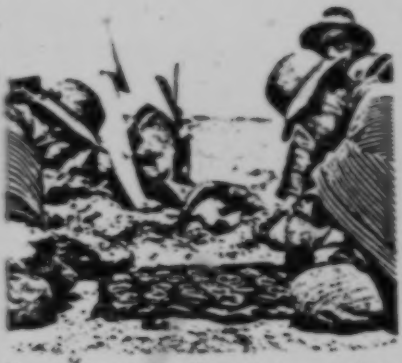
Métraux--135 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas—
Chipaya

Plate XIV

A. — Festival of the Comadres (February 2). Dance around a banner.

B. — Festival of the mal'ku: Indian beating a drum near the effigy of a demon (mal'ku).



C. — Čipaya Indian in prayer before the cupules containing magical substances.

D. — Čipaya Indian in his festival attire (wig, festive slings, etc.).

2:Métraux--138 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

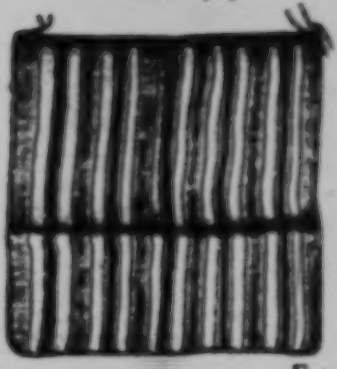
Plate XVII

A

C

D

B



E

/See captions on next page./

2:Métraux--138a E-S (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate XVII

A. – Bowl used for making libations of chicha. The animals modeled at the bottom are a llama and its young.
B. – Small earthen llama venerated during certain festivals.
C. – Bag with red and yellow motifs (kāis).
D. – Wooden mug used during certain religious ceremonies to offer up libations.
E. – Woven bag (kāis).

2nMétraux--181 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga:--
Cajaya
Modern Quechua SF24

/188 cont./

Some families still have k'ero, i.e., large wooden mugs (3).

3. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII.
Pl. XVII. D.

beautiful specimens of which have been recovered in Peru. These vessels come out of their hiding-places only at festival time and are used only for libations of chicha. According with the ancient Inca way, they are always presented in pairs in the same way as the drinking cups of alcohol. The k'ero which I saw in the hands of the Cipaya lack decoration, but the greyish substance which adheres to them is without doubt all that remains of the lacquer which covered the outside surface of it. These pieces are not easy to get, for the Indians consider them of great value and are very attached to them. They assert, perhaps rightly, that they date from the Inca period.

The bowl (umaña) in the bottom of which a llama with its young has been modeled (4) is destined to hold the chicha which the

4. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII.
Pl. XVII. A.

Indians pour out as a libation in honor of the Pachamama when they request fecundity of the herds from her.

No Cipaya hut lacks one or two palm-wood sticks with a rope for suspension (5). These sticks (kamana-para) which are the /189/

5. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII.
Pl. XVI. D.—Among the Quichua of Acomayo, to become mandón or campo it is indispensable to have made "the voyage to the valleys to bring back palms /palmes/ for certain religious ceremonies, such as the promenades after mass on Palm Sunday."

Stiveiland--22 D.E-5 (1938-1964) 1969 SF24 Uru SF24

/194/

*539 S24

IX. Funeral Customs
(Account by Carlos Kiape)

(See p. 187 An the foreign text/)

Free Translation

[Uru] [193]

1. We others, we have the custom of making a meal in honor of the soul. 2. We offer libations to the souls. 3. At night we have the custom of digging (the grave). 4. Then we have the custom of coming to burn (the clothes of the dead person). 5. We have the custom of burning the clothes of the soul. 6. Let us go burn these clothes. 7. Let us light the fire. 8. We burn only the clothes.

Remarks

In this short account the informant summarizes several funeral practices of the Uru. At first it is the evening of the funeral, during which relatives and friends eat in honor of the dead person (1) to whom libations of alcohol, chicha, and coca are offered (2). After the burial, without a coffin, in a simple ditch dug during the night (3), and which will not subsequently be marked by anything, the clothes of the dead person are burned.

*539 S24 A1

These practices are very different from those of the other natives of the Cordillera, speakers of Aymara or Kallwa, who gather several days after the burial to wash the dead man's clothes and divide them up. The customs of the Uru recall those of numerous Amazonian groups.

The complete abandonment of the grave after burial must also be noted; it contrasts with the care which other populations of the Cordillera give to graves.

*539 I01 A3

1. ukúmi; this is the personal pronoun of the first person plural, with the exclusive meaning "we others, the Urus."

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 23]

9:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Like

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Pole (1901) states that the Uru were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the Uru ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by the official.

RELIGION

The Uru worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main Uru fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 25th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilamuha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood over the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most Uru-Chipaya folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Rio Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya
778
982

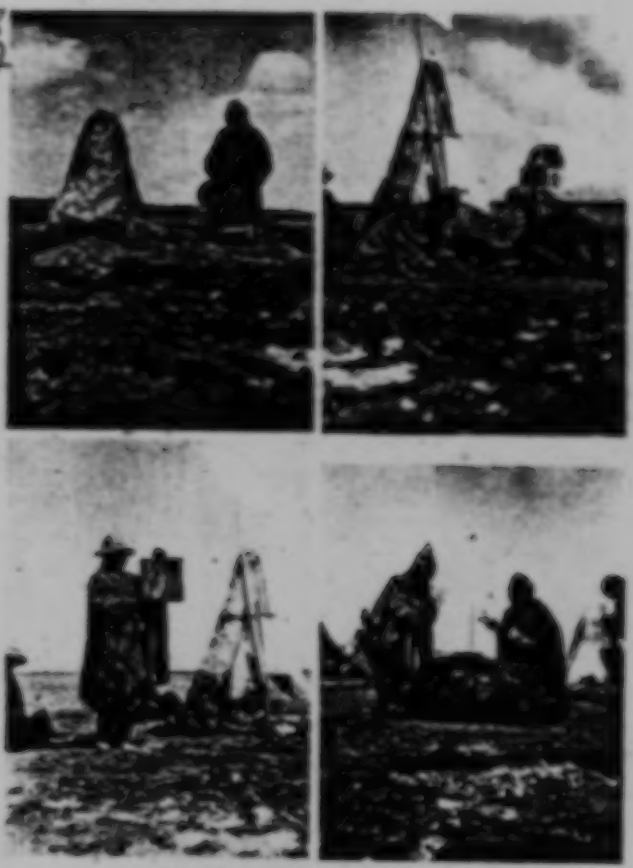


Plate 116.—Chipaya matting mats.

[F 582-G]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymaraized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (*malku*) with little individuality (Chunkirini-malku, Kemperani-malku, Estewan-malku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Lauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-malku). The *samiri* are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-malku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the *malku* and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1965
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

paper. Llama foetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The malku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of mud 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own malku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety samiri are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant. The cult of the malku and that of the samiri follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an alférez and his wife, who are the masters of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three animals on which the *Chipaya* depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a yatiri—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or samiri stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupolas and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulas are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (ch'ichis, "sevarios," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupola is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the malku, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candles are buried for Pachamama. Khoa, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the alférez and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

782. Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

5 La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1945
E724 Uto E724
Chipaya

food to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed owl, which is kept in a corner.

The lords of each family are protected by a special amulet—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and corn, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, cowrie, and several other magical substances.

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of corn and chicha. The food is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place corn and the capsules with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the food, offer it corn, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor.

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the Chipaya make libations on the wool and offer corn and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the *yatiri*. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body.

Divination is practised by the examination of a bunch of corn leaves.

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by Métraux (1935 c, pp. 395–412) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Coniraya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the *chullpa* people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology.

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Chippewa

tains, and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as Shallow Mayer. The other manitou are represented by small conical mud towers scattered around the countryside. Sacred stone fetishes or amulets protect the prosperity of the village; in the houses, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal Santa events on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; flowers and other fertile symbols of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a horse, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating priest, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the *mallcu* cones and the *manitú* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land.

[P. 22-C]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

Religion. Nothing remains of Uru religion which is identifiably non-Aymára. In a swamp north of the village of Ancoaqui I noted an offering to some power or other, which consisted of three bowls, one over the other, in the reeds. Like the Aymára, the Uru believe in the interpreted significance of dreams.[80] The three- or four-stepped adobe pyramids in Ancoaqui I am unable to place as either an Hispanicism or an ancient survival; Posnansky would accept them as evidence of Arawakan affinities of the Uru. There are four or five of these at Ancoaqui. One has a cross atop it: the *cura* from Guaqui makes rare visits to the town.

According to Posnansky, the Uru have the following gods: *Tuvinaito* (= Aymara *Tuvapaí*, = a sun-god?), *Kjotsompiti* (a god of the Lake from Aymara *q'ota*, "lake"), *Tukun-wuwo-sompiti* (the goddess of the Lake), *Paloni-sompiti-mujku* (god of fishes, from Aymara *mujku*, "lord, master, chief"), *Čep-kaluuri-lili* (god of potatoes), *Kjoni-sompiti* (god of the earth) and *Sompiti-mujku* ("god of the ancestors"). The willingness of this author to indulge in pure fantasy, however, leads us to be cautious even about such an etymologically plausible list. Métraux says that "Tout ce qui, dans ce mémoire [of Posnansky] concerne la religion actuelle des Uro est du domaine de la fantaisie," and avers that the chief deity of the Urus is *Pachamama*, an earth goddess of the Aymára. Near the door of every hut is a spot of blood, souvenir of the sacrifice made to the spirit of the place when the house is roofed; potatoes, alcohol, and *coca* are offered to the gods and *Pachamama*.

Mythology. The Uru appear to have preserved a few of their own traditions and myths. One of these,[80] however, appears to check with an ancient folk-tale preserved by Betanzos:

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[80] The Uru of Ancoaqui, quite surprisingly, believe in the superstition of "three-on-a match." This is said to be only as old as the Crimean War, when cigarettes first began to be popular: a match lit long enough to light three cigarettes gave enemy marksmen an opportunity to shoot the smokers, hence the "bad luck" of lighting three cigarettes on one match. If this is the true explanation, it is amazing how the practice came so quickly to the isolated Uru. However, in a world increasingly integrated, the discovery of South Africa copper reserves and subsequent fall of the price of copper on the New York Stock Exchange intimately affects the religious life of the Uru of the Desaguadero swamps; for when the great American copper mines in Bolivia (American Smelting at Corocoro, subsidiary of the Guggenheim interests) shut down, the Aymára miners cannot buy Uru fish, and the Uru cannot then buy quinoa and *coca*. And *coca* is an indispensable ritual substance in nearly all Uru ceremonies.

[80] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85. Métraux (JSAP 27, p. 88) gives a version of the same Uru tale, of which he got a more complete example from the Chipaya: "Formerly there was a cataclysm which annihilated all humanity, with the exception of the Uru. This is why they speak a language different from that of other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its temple existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky, the temple and Tiahuanacu fell down."